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Gender Dimensions of Child Labor and Street Children in Brazil

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Abstract

Gustafsson-Wright and Pyne review child labor and the situation of street children in Brazil from a gender perspective. Relying primarily on Brazil's national household survey for 1996, the authors examine various dimensions of child labor by gender, including participation, intensity, and type of activities; the relationship between child labor, education, and future earnings; and the risks of child labor to health and well-being. They also summarize approaches to prevent and eliminate child labor and street children in Brazil.

The authors find that more boys than girls work in Brazil especially in rural areas where boys are concentrated in the agricultural sector, that many children both work and attend school, and that girls attain higher levels of education than boys on average, even when considering number of hours worked. The exception is the 11–14 category. They also find that an individual's earnings are correlated with age of entry into the labor market. The earlier a child begins to work, the lower his or her earnings. And girls are more adversely affected by early labor force entry than boys, with the gender differential increasing the earlier a child begins to work.

Taking poverty as the primary contributor to child labor, government programs to combat child labor are well designed in that they compensate families for a child's foregone earnings and address family factors that lead to poverty. However, programs could be improved by explicitly considering the gender dimensions of child labor. The authors point to the need for analysis of the impact of child labor on health, and specifically to the gender and sex-differentiated impacts. They suggest the need to address gender in intervention strategies for street children, as well as research on child labor in domestic service where girls are overrepresented.

This paper—a product of the Gender Sector Unit, Latin America and the Caribbean Region—is part of a larger effort in the region to identify and address gender issues relevant to development. Copies of the paper are available free from the World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433. Please contact Maria Correia, room 18-115, telephone 202-473-9394, fax 202-676-0199, email address mcorreia@worldbank.org. Policy Research Working Papers are also posted on the Web at http://econ.worldbank.org. The authors may be contacted at egustafsson@worldbank.org or hpyne@worldbank.org. October 2002. (30 pages)

GENDER DIMENSIONS OF CHILD LABOR AND STREET CHILDREN IN BRAZIL

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. This paper provides an overview of child labor and the situation of street children in Brazil from a gender perspective. Understanding the manner and extent to which girls and boys work and are living on the streets has important implications for methods of intervention. This paper details various dimensions of child labor – such as participation rates and types of labor in which girls relative to boys are involved – and examines characteristics of children who work, the relationship between child labor and educational outcomes and future earnings, and the potential health hazards and risks.

2. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part provides a brief background of the legal context in which child labor exists in Brazil and discusses the definitions of child labor and street children as used in the paper. The second part examines three dimensions of child labor – incidence, intensity, and activities – and highlights the differences between boys and girls. Furthermore, it investigates the possible relationship between child labor, education and future earnings, and corollary risks to children's health and wellbeing. The third part summarizes key approaches undertaken to prevent and eliminate child labor in Brazil with a gender lens. Throughout, the paper brings to light some of the gaps in the existing literature and proposes topics for future research.

II. BACKGROUND

The Legal Context in Brazil

3. Throughout the world, the reality of child labor and children in the streets precedes recorded history. Child labor has generally shown a decline as technology has improved, education has become more accessible, and a legal framework protecting the rights of children has been established. In many parts of the world however, especially the developing world, child labor remains a serious problem. In recent years, a rise in the attention paid to child labor and street children at an international level has been demonstrated by such policy actions as the creation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 and the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1992.

4. In Brazil, civil society organizations such as workers' unions, churches, and non governmental organizations (NGOs) have been instrumental in lobbying for governmental programs to address child labor and street children. As a result, the Brazilian Government has made children a policy priority. In 1988, the federal constitution of Brazil pronounced children and adolescents to be an "absolute priority": article 227 states that "it is the duty of the society and the state to ensure that children and adolescents are an absolute priority – and that they have the right to life, health, food, education, leisure, training, culture, dignity, respect, familial and community relations – as well as to ensure that they are not subject to any form of negligence, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty or oppression." The Government also supported the prohibition of nocturnal, dangerous or unhealthy labor for children under 18 years of age and any type of labor for children under 14 except in a situation of learning or professional training. In 1990, Law 8.069 (the Statute of Children and Adolescents, or ECA) article 60 ratified the prohibition of labor for children, which prohibits children under age 14 to work because of the harm to their physical, psychological and moral development. It also establishes the guiding principles of apprentice work, access to basic education and mandatory attendance, activities compatible with the adolescent's development, and a reduced workday.

5. In 2000, the Government ratified both ILO Convention 138 (January); which addresses the minimum age for employment; and Convention 182 (September), which addresses the effective abolition of the worst forms of child labor. The Government has set out to eradicate the worst forms of child labor by the year 2006.

6. In its policy on the protection of children, the Government also vowed to support programs and projects that stimulate equality in conditions of access and return to schooling as well as in the supply of socio-educational activities, sports, and leisure before and after the normal school day.

7. Programs to eradicate harmful forms of child labor in Brazil have included the National Forum for the Eradication and Prevention of Child Labor (1994), which is linked to the Ministry of Labor and receives technical and financial support from the ILO and UNICEF and involves civil society. The Forum concentrates on the critical forms of child labor, such as sugar cane, sisal mate and charcoal production. The Federal Program for the Eradication of Child Labor (PETI), which was established through the Ministry of Social Security and Assistance as a pilot in 1996, provides cash stipends to low-income families who keep their children in school and out of work. PETI also

offers sports and cultural activities to children during after-school hours to keep them away from work. Other programs include: the *Bolsa Escola* programs, which are minimum income guarantee programs anchored in the school systems of metropolitan areas, the Program for the Assurance of a Minimum Income (FGRM), and programs specifically designed to work with street children. (Sedlacek and Gustafsson-Wright, forthcoming).

8. Recently, in an effort to scale up and integrate separate cash-grant initiatives, the FGRM joined with *Bolsa Escola* (2 million beneficiaries) and PETI (400,000 beneficiaries in 2000) under the umbrella *Alvorada Program.* The *Alvorada* Program subsequently established the *Sentinela* initiative to target children at-risk of working in prostitution.

Defining Child Labor and Street Children

9. The World Bank lacks a universal definition of child labor, as the definitions of 'children' and 'labor' are highly dependent on the locality of these elements.[1] However, in Brazil child labor refers to any work, paid or unpaid, for at least one hour per week and that any type of labor is illegal for children under 14 years of age.[2] This paper considers the phenomenon of street children as one element of child labor and, at the same time, recognizes the additional issues, concerns, and risks that working in the streets poses. UNICEF distinguishes two types of children in the streets (Barker and Knaul, 199?). The first group of children works in the streets and has a home to return to at night (maintaining regular contact with family and contributing to family income), whereas the second group works and live in the streets, lacking regular contact with family. Activities in the street fall largely into the following four main areas: (a) vending candy, gum, or newspapers; polishing shoes; and washing cars; (b) begging; (c) illicit behaviors such as drug trafficking or other criminal acts; and (c) prostitution.

Worst Forms of Child Labor

10. Some argue that not all types of labor are harmful to children. It is true, in fact, that in some areas, child labor is associated with a nurturing working environment in the home with family members. Informal education and training are some of the benefits of this type of labor. In addition, because children can be the principal contributors to family income, their labor can

[1] See World Bank Child Labor Initiative.

substantially improve living conditions for the family when the alternative is even more extreme poverty. Nevertheless, for many children, the type of labor in which they are involved can pose substantial harm to their physical and mental health.[3]

11. In Brazil, key activities identified as the priority forms of child labor are grouped by urban or rural residence.[4] In urban areas, children may be involved in illicit activities (drug trafficking, prostitution, etc.) or street vending (newspapers or other products). In rural areas, activities may include the collection or production of charcoal, agave, cotton, vegetable products, sugar cane, tobacco, horticultural products, citrus, salt, flour, fish, wood, textiles, tiles or ceramics and work related to the extraction of stones and gems – i.e. mining.

12. Given the overwhelming nature of the problem, the definition of priority forms of child labor in Brazil is narrow, as its focus is on the eradication of activities that have a negative impact on physical rather than psychological wellbeing, and on manual labor conducted in public spaces, that is, work that is more visible. Boys tend to participate in these forms of work. As the "worst form of activities" are expanded to consider the private sphere of work and the psychological harms of child labor, girls child labor will become more visible and as such policies and intervention strategies will begin to take into account the gender differentiated forms of child labor.

III. GENDER DIMENSIONS OF CHILD LABOR AND ITS IMPACTS

13. This section examines three dimensions of child labor (incidence, intensity, and activity) and the anecdotal evidence on the correlation between child labor and education and future earnings, as

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[2] In Brazil, previous to 1991, work was characterized as fifteen hours per week.

[3] See Sedlacek and Gustafsson-Wright, forthcoming.

[4] The worst forms of child labor convention of 1999 (Convention 182) states that all members must take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor as a matter of urgency. For the purposes of the convention, "child" refers to all persons under the age of 18 and "the worst forms of child labor" comprises:
(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
(b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

well as the exposures and risks to children's wellbeing. Using a gender lens, the paper focuses on differences between boys and girls and on how societal-based gender roles shape the differences and consequences.

Incidence of Child Labor

14. The *Pesquisa Nacional Amostra do Domicilio* (PNAD), a national household survey conducted in 1996, estimates that in Brazil 2.6 million children between the ages of ten and fourteen, or 15 percent of the population in the age group, work at least an hour a day.[5] This suggests a large decline from 1993 when 4.5 million children worked. Concerning the absolute number of children working in 1996, the number of children working in rural areas exceeded that of urban areas by only 292,000; however, participation rates (proportion of children between 10 and 14 year who are working) are higher in rural areas (36 percent) than in urban areas (9 percent). In both urban and rural areas, twice as many boys as girls work (see Table 1).[6]

Table 1: Incidence of Child Labor (number of children working) and Participation Rates (percentage of all children between the ages of 10-14)

	Urban		Rural		Total	
Girls	379,811	6%	450,314	23%	830,125	10%
Boys	771,759	12%	994,042	48%	1,765,801	20%
Total	1,151,570	9%	1,444,356	36%	2,595,926	15%

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

15. School and work are not mutually exclusive activities; many working children in Brazil also attend school, as Table 2 demonstrates. Boys are more likely than girls to be engaged only in work as well as to combine work with school. Gender differences are particularly stark in the rural areas where 12 percent of boys compared to 5 percent of girls are working exclusively, and 36 percent of boys compared to 18 percent of girls are both working and attending school.

[5] For consistency reasons this paper examines 1996 data. It is noteworthy that more recent evidence demonstrates that child labor continues to decline.

[6] The sample used for this paper consists of 37,401 observations of children ages 10-14. Of this population 75-85% lives in urban areas, 50% are girls, and each age group comprises roughly 20% of the children. The most highly represented *states are Para, Mato Grosso do Sul and Goias.

Table 2: Proportion of Children at Work and/or School, by Sex and Area

	Urban		Rural	
	Girl (%)	Boy (%)	Girl (%)	Boy (%)
Work Only	1	2	5	12
Work and School	5	10	18	36
School Only	89	83	66	45
Neither work nor attend school	5	5	11	7
	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

Intensity of Work

16. Intensity of work is indicated by hours worked per week or per day. Although the survey found no child working over 20 hours a day, about 5 percent of boys and 6 percent of the girls worked exceedingly long hours, that is, between 10 and 20 hours (see Table 3). Differences between the intensity of work carried out by boys and girls were not dramatic. It is surprising to find, however, that although a greater number and a higher proportion of children work in rural areas, rural children are more likely to work fewer hours than their urban counterparts.

Table 3: Proportion of Working Children by Hours Worked Per Day

Hours of work	Urban		Rural		Total	
Per day	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)
0 < h <= 5	47	50	62	56	55	53
5 < h <= 10	45	44	34	40	39	42
10 < h <= 20	8	6	4	4	6	5
h > 20	0	0	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

Sectors of Work

17. As is to be expected, the majority of working children in the rural areas, particularly boys (95 percent), are involved in agricultural work. Ten percent of rural girls work in the service sector, with the majority (81 percent) working in domestic work. In the urban areas, on the other hand, child labor can be found largely in service and commerce sectors, the proportions being 30 percent and 25 percent, respectively. Agricultural work follows close behind with 20 percent.

18. Gender differences in the urban areas are noteworthy (see Table 4). About half of girls work in services compared to 20 percent of boys but boys edge out the girls in both the agriculture and commerce sectors. Again, the service-oriented jobs for girls are primarily in domestic service (77 percent), whereas for boys, service jobs are primarily food- and drink-related services (42 percent) and auto repairs (32 percent).

Table 4: Percentage of Working Children by Sector, Region and Sex

	Urban			Rural		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Agriculture	23.7	12.2	19.9	94.6	82.1	90.7
Industry	13.3	8.7	11.8	1.9	4.5	2.7
Construction	6.4	0.9	4.6	0.4	0.1	0.3
Other Industry	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.2
Commerce	26.3	21.5	24.7	1.5	2.1	1.7
Services	20.2	48.7	29.6	0.8	10.3	3.8
Aux. Services	2.5	3.1	2.7	0.1	0.0	0.1
Transportation	2.5	0.4	1.8	0.2	0.3	0.2
Social	1.5	2.4	1.8	0.1	0.3	0.1
Public	1.3	1.1	1.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
Others	1.7	0.7	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

19. A recent study on domestic workers indicates that the incidence of girls ages 10-16 who work in this sector increased by 10 percent.[7] This is striking considering that overall levels of child labor have declined substantially over time. Today, 20 percent of all Brazilian women who work are domestic employees. While most working girls are white, in the sector of domestic service, sixty percent of girls are non-white. Girls who work in domestic service receive on average 60 percent of minimum wage and some girls who do domestic work (4 percent) do so for no pay at all. Lastly, girls working in domestic service tend to drop out of school (30 percent).

20. Locality of work indicates the type of activities in which children are involved (see Table 5). As the majority of children are working in the agricultural sector, particularly in rural areas, more than half of children (54 percent) are working on a farm, ranch, poultry farm, or small rural property. Gender differences in work locality are particularly pronounced, again reflecting the sectors that differentially engage child labor. About 20 percent of working girls are in their employer's home, and 12 percent are at home carrying out domestic chores, compared to 1.4 percent and 2.7 percent respectively among the boys. In contrast, working boys are prominent in localities such as roadways or public areas.

Table 5: Distribution of 10 to 14 Year Old Working Children by Gender and Work Locality

Work Locality	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
Store, repair shop, factory, office, school	26.0	17.1	23.10
Farm, ranch, poultry farm, small rural property	57.6	46.4	53.8
Home	2.7	11.9	5.8
Employer's home	1.4	20.5	7.8
Site designated by employer	2.6	0.3	1.9
Automotive vehicle	0.3	0.1	0.2
Roadway or public area	7.9	3.0	6.2
Other	1.5	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1995

[7] Lavinas, Lena (2000).

Types of Activities

21. The Brazilian government has defined the worst forms of child labor as activities involving the collection or production of charcoal, *sisel (jute)*, cotton, vegetable products, sugar cane, tobacco, horticultural products, citrus, salt, flour, fish, wood, textiles, tiles or ceramics and activities related to the extraction of stones and gems. In addition, most harmful activities specific to urban areas include drug trafficking and prostitution, street vending (newspapers or other products), etc.

22. Boys' and girls' involvement in the worst forms of child labor varies by type of activities. As indicated in Table 6, rural girls comprise a higher proportion of working children in babacu and acai palm plantations, tobacco, and sisel (jute) farms, whereas rural boys are dominantin sugar cane, cotton, fishing, and coal production.

Table 6: Percentage of Working Children (10-14 years of age) in Rural Areas by Activity and Gender

Agricultural Activity	Rural		Total	Urban		Total
	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls	
Worst forms						
Cotton	1.2	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Agave/*sisel* (jute)	0.0	0.3	0.1	-	-	-
Sugar cane	2.1	0.3	1.6	5.0	1.2	4.3
Tobacco	2.7	4.7	33	0.6	0.0	0.5
Babacu (palm)	2.4	6.4	3.5	-	-	-
Acai (palm)	16.7	20.6	17.8	9.2	9.8	9.3
Fishing	1.2	0.6	1.0	9.0	3.8	7.9
Coal	0.2	0.00	0.1	-	-	-
Less Harmful						
Corn	22.1	22.7	22.3	12.4	8.3	11.6
Aipim (sweet cassava)	11.0	11.1	11.0	6.3	8.4	6.8
Cattle	15.0	4.4	12.0	15.0	3.8	12.7
Poultry	2.2	10.5	4.5	11.9	36.5	16.9
Rice	8.1	4.2	7.0	7.0	3.8	6.4

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

Working on the Streets

23. Most street activities, both legal and illegal, are considered the worst forms of child labor in Brazil. This paper treats street children as a subset of child labor while recognizing that children working in the street represent a different set of issues and concerns. The risks and exposures that street children confront daily and the very public nature of their work and their hardships have heightened concerns about this particular aspect of child labor, as well as having attracted local and international attention (Freeman, 1997, Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1997, UNICEF, 1993).

24. According to PNAD 1995, about 161,000 children or 6.2 percent of all working children, work in roadways or public areas. Table 7 shows the number of children working in the streets in three Brazilian cities. In the city of Salvador, an estimated 16,000 children work in the streets; however, only 3 percent live and sleep in the street. In fact, in the three Brazilian cities the percentages of children living or sleeping on the streets are relatively low if compared to Central America where an estimated 25 percent of street children sleep or live on the streets (Takahashi and Cederlof, 2000).

Table 7: Estimate of Children in the Street in Selected Brazilian Cities

Cities in Brazil	Working in the street	Number and proportion sleeping in the street
Sao Paulo	4, 520	895 (19.8 percent)
Fortaleza	5, 962	184 (3.1 percent)
Salvador	15, 743	468 (3.0 percent)

Source: Rizzini, Barker, and Cassaniga, 1998

25. Though findings cannot be generalized, a study conducted in Brasilia on street children and adolescents under 18 years of age provides an insight into the population's gender composition. The 1996 -1997 survey indicated that although the absolute number of children dropped dramatically in the second year, the gender composition remained the same: 89 percent of the street children were boys and 11 percent were girls. Overrepresentation of boys among street children is a pattern that is also witnessed in other countries in Latin America. Boys comprised 72 percent of the working youth population in the streets of Mexico (UNICEF, 1993), and 70 percent of those in Honduras (Takahashi and Cederlof, 2000). However, the Brasilia study found no gender differences

in the number of hours worked, the time of day/night worked, or the likelihood of sleeping in the street (Araujo, 1998).

The reasons children work

26. Children work for a variety of reasons though it is commonly believed that one of the main reasons is poverty.[8] Poor families are forced to send their children to work to contribute to family income (see Table 8). Many families do not see themselves as having an alternative, as children's earnings may be necessary for family survival. The constraint to work is placed on children when the opportunity cost of receiving an education (not working) is extremely high. Other factors that drive child labor include organization of work activities, social norms that encourage children to work, inability to pay school fees supplies or uniforms, inability to access schools due to distance/transportation difficulties and poor quality of school and teachers.[9]

Table 8: Incidence of Child Labor, by Income Quintile, Area and Gender - (percentage of all children between the ages of 10-14)

Income Quintile	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total	Boy	Girl	Total
1st quintile	14	6	10	52	24	38	31	14	22
2nd quintile	14	6	10	40	22	31	19	9	14
3rd quintile	12	6	9	40	21	31	15	8	12
4th quintile	9	5	7	36	21	29	11	6	8
5th quintile	6	4	5	28	18	23	7	5	6

Source: Calculations based on PNAD, 1996

27. A parent's decision to put a child to work is also influenced by the organization of a family's productive activities, including the nature of contracting and payment systems. Child labor becomes part of the family labor, which is particularly true in rural areas. Another critical factor is the social norms that uphold child labor, which is viewed as an integral and positive part of a child's development. A working child is perceived as receiving discipline and training for his or her future

[8] See for example Graiter and Lerer (1998), Grootaert and Patrinos (1999), Jensen and Nielsen (1997), Psacharopoulos (1997) and Tzannotos (1998).

entry into the labor market as an adult. Furthermore, working occupies time, which might otherwise be spent "getting into mischief" (Moura, 1999).

28. The question of why children work can often be answered by examining how the money they earn is spent. Employers frequently pay rural children's earnings directly to their parents, as part of the family labor. In the urban areas, however, the situation differs as the types of jobs that children engage in differ substantially. Some children who work (but do not live) in the streets bring the money they earn back to their parents if it contributes significantly to family income. Evidence is lacking, however, on how the money is spent by the parents once they receive it. Children that do not return to a home with parents or another adult, spend the money on their own subsistence, and some, as the problem is increasing, may move to the purchase of drugs.

29. Gender roles affect parents and families' decisions on who (boy or girl child) works and where they work. Girls, for example, may be forced to take on more of the household chores as their male siblings leave the home to earn income for the family. As demonstrated previously, girls are over-represented in domestic work and other service sector jobs, in both urban and rural areas. Boys, on the other hand, are over-represented in the streets. This division of labor in part reflects gender roles and expectations. Engagement of girls in domestic service sector is shaped by the role of girls/women positioned in the biological and social reproductive spheres (maintaining a household, whether it is her own or that of others), and the role of boys engaged in the productive realm. In addition, girls tend to primarily occupy the private sphere, while boys, the public. Other reasons for girls leaving their homes to work and live on the streets may differ from the reasons offered by boys. It is not uncommon for girls who face physical, sexual or verbal abuse in the home to leave this environment in search of a better one. The streets may be their only option.

Child Labor, Education and Poverty

30. The growing effort to address child labor stems from the potentially negative social and economic implications of children working. In many cases, employers are able to take advantage of the poor bargaining power of children, since children cannot legally form unions and therefore employers are able to subject children to working conditions to which they could not otherwise subject adult workers. The negative social or developmental impacts on children are measured by

[9] If parents find that there are larger gains from obtaining work experience than education.

the effects of actual working conditions (hours worked, exposure to physical or mental strain or repetitive action, exposure to hazardous substances) and other physical or psychological risks or abuse. Economic arguments against child labor are based on the inability of children to accumulate human capital (education), which prevents them from having higher future earnings. Stronger markets for child labor also induce increased incidence of child labor and lower school enrollment rates.[10] Some evidence suggests that child labor leads directly to lower years of schooling (Psacharopolous, 1997) or at least to learning less per year of schooling (Akabuyashi and Psacharopolous, 1999). The low rates of productivity growth contribute to the cycle of poverty and affect economic growth.[11]

31. The need for children to work does not mean that parents are not concerned about their children's welfare or that the consequences of child labor are negative. Child labor and child schooling may not be mutually exclusive. In fact, many working children are also in school as demonstrated in Table 2. In some cases child labor may even increase household income sufficiently to make school affordable by helping families pay for transportation to school, school materials or uniforms. Child labor can also enhance the lifetime earnings potential of children directly based on the theory of learning by doing.

Education

32. As discussed above, child labor may be associated with poverty and educational attainment but whether the relationship is negative, positive or some combination is not clear. Anecdotal evidence indicates that in Brazil, the incidence of child labor in households that fall in the bottom 20 percent (lowest quintile) of income distribution is 22 percent, compared to only 6 percent in the highest quintile. About 90% of heads of poor households have not graduated from primary school, and 74% have not completed 4th grade. The consequences of child labor in the present, however, are only part of the story. How child labor relates to the future – in terms of education and future poverty – poses an even more interesting question. Poor households tend to have low levels of human capital, which in turn, is often a result of early labor market entry.

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[10] Rosenzweig and Evenson (1977) and Levy (1985) found that higher child wages led to increased child labor participation and decreased enrollments. King, Orazem and Paterno (1999) found that stronger local child labor markets increased the incidence of school dropout.

[11] Sedlacek and Gustafsson-Wright (forthcoming).

Enrollment

33. Most Brazilian children, on average 94 percent, are enrolled in school, with little difference between girls and boys (94 percent and 93 percent respectively). For working children, average enrollment is only slightly lower at 83 percent. The numbers do not, however, reflect the low levels of educational attainment of Brazilians owing to late entry into school, slow progression, and high drop out rates. The numbers of children who lag in grade as well as the levels of educational attainment of working and non-working boy and girls are more pertinent; and a correlation may exist between these indicators although not necessarily causality.

Attainment by Age

34. According to the PNAD household survey, the educational attainment of children in Brazil is only about 55 percent of what it should be for their age. Boys tend to lag behind more than girls, especially when they are working (60 percent compared to 51 percent for girls).[12] The greater number of boys involved in child labor may explain part of this gender disparity in education lags.[13] However, as mentioned previously, these numbers may be distorted by measurement error because many girls work in domestic labor, which often goes uncounted.

35. Contemporaneous evidence of educational attainment between girls and boys who only work, only study, do both or neither in rural and urban areas suggests gender differences. In rural and urban areas, the difference between boys and girls who only study is relatively insignificant. However, for children in rural areas who only work, the evidence clearly demonstrates a substantially lower level of attainment for boys (1.7 years) than for girls (2.5 years). In urban areas, girls who only work or also both study and work, also exhibit higher attainment on average than boys.

36. Although it does not necessarily indicate a causal relationship, it is perhaps more telling to examine the relationship between the number of hours worked and educational attainment (see Table 9). In rural areas, girls who work 10 to 20 hours per day have a 35 percent higher attainment rate than their male counterparts who work the same number of hours, and a 20 percent higher rate than boys if both are working 5 to 10 hours. In urban areas, attainment for girls working 5 to 10

[12] Note that this considers children who are currently enrolled in school and currently working and does not describe overall attainment.
[13] Sedlacek, Gustafsson-Wright and Ilahi (2000)

hours is 18 percent higher than boys working the same number of hours, but it is only 3.6 percent higher than boys' attainment when they work 10 to 20 hours per day. However, because the evidence is contemporaneous rather than retrospective, the effects of work on educational attainment over the lifetime are unclear. Econometric analysis would be necessary to measure the precise magnitude of these effects.

Table 9: Level of Educational Attainment for Age by Hours Worked for Girls and Boys

Hours Worked Per Day	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
h=0	3.37	3.79	3.59	2.14	2.51	2.35	3.18	3.54	3.37
0<h<=5	3.30	4.17	3.58	2.03	2.46	2.17	2.55	3.13	2.74
5<h<=10	3.51	4.17	3.73	2.15	2.59	2.27	2.77	3.42	2.97
10<h<=20	3.27	3.39	3.32	2.43	3.29	2.70	2.88	3.36	3.05
Total	3.37	3.81	3.59	2.12	2.51	2.31	3.08	3.51	3.29

Source: Calculations based on PNAD 1996

37. Educational attainment may also depend on the age at which girls and boys begin to work. While conclusions cannot be made about the causal effects of age of entry into the labor market on educational attainment, individuals will likely not catch up in terms of educational attainment once they have entered the labor market or reached adulthood. Overall, as expected, the later children begin to work, the higher the attainment levels, although it does not increase monotonically. Table 10 shows educational attainment for children ages 4 to 15+ in both rural and urban areas. It is interesting to note that while on average girls have higher educational attainment, girls who begin working between the ages of 11 and 14 have lower levels of educational attainment than boys. The trend is present in both urban and rural areas but to a lesser degree in the latter case. The reasons for these gender differences could be an area of future research.

Table 10: Average Educational Attainment of Individuals who Began Working at Different Ages

Age Began Working	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
4	4.17	4.24	4.19	2.23	3.02	2.49	3.71	3.93	3.79
5	4.68	4.58	4.65	2.15	4.19	2.63	3.90	4.49	4.08
6	5.19	4.83	5.05	2.55	3.35	2.80	4.24	4.39	4.29
7	4.80	4.77	4.79	2.84	2.82	2.84	4.20	4.22	4.21
8	4.73	4.67	4.71	2.57	3.00	2.70	3.99	4.13	4.03
9	5.13	4.86	5.03	2.54	2.83	2.65	4.29	4.20	4.26
10	4.85	5.00	4.90	2.28	2.73	2.44	3.90	4.10	3.97
11	5.73	5.43	5.62	2.91	2.80	2.87	4.97	4.70	4.87
12	5.99	5.82	5.94	3.02	3.30	3.12	5.25	5.16	5.22
13	6.61	6.48	6.56	3.87	3.74	3.82	6.16	6.02	6.11
14	7.53	7.53	7.53	3.92	4.02	3.96	7.13	7.07	7.11
15+	8.42	9.27	8.85	4.51	5.32	4.93	8.10	8.94	8.53
Total	6.93	7.78	7.29	3.04	3.63	3.27	6.16	7.05	6.53

Source: Calculations based on PNAD 1996.

Earnings and Poverty

38. A child's potential future earnings, as well as future poverty, may be affected by his or her entry into the labor market at a young age but much more so for girls than boys. In addition to the physical and mental risks to which these children are exposed, which affect their capacity to work and earn income in the future, income may be affected by their lower educational attainment. While this does not necessarily indicate a causal relationship, these data demonstrate that for both boys and girls, the earlier the age of entry into the labor market the lower the future earnings (see Table 11). Furthermore, when it comes to earnings, girls are much more likely to suffer the consequences of early labor force entry than boys. This is especially true in rural areas where girls who began working at age 7 earn 55 percent less than if they had begun working at age 15 or older, whereas for boys the difference in only 23 percent. In urban areas, girls earn 52 percent less and boys 32 percent less than if they had begun working at age 15 or older.

39. Examining the gender wage differential for different ages of entry into the labor market, women earn between 64 percent and 83 percent less than men if they began working between the

ages of 4 and 14, but only 54 percent less if they began to work at or above age 15. In urban areas, women consistently earn between 50 percent and 60 percent less than men if they began working before age 15, when they earn 35 percent less than boys. The overall average wage differential for all ages, and in both rural and urban areas, is approximately 40 percent. Girls in rural areas earn 80 percent of what girls earn in urban areas.

Table 11: Average Income for Individuals who Started Working at Different Ages

Age Began working	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
4	367.67	406.28	379.94	346.65	-	231.10	362.73	305.50	344.33
5	594.07	251.13	482.73	193.66	63.00	162.68	470.60	209.04	392.16
6	536.29	204.10	406.89	228.86	38.96	167.79	425.97	155.60	326.80
7	492.17	224.45	399.86	216.71	58.63	166.91	407.33	178.01	330.29
8	479.85	222.38	394.66	201.11	51.45	154.42	384.25	167.05	313.77
9	522.98	228.87	413.81	172.99	55.09	128.92	410.58	172.63	322.05
10	460.43	212.33	376.56	160.26	39.79	115.98	349.75	143.43	277.69
11	553.34	236.72	438.88	171..08	53.18	127.57	449.75	185.80	353.78
12	536.13	236.03	433.02	200.23	55.60	148.29	452.01	188.50	360.43
13	607.83	301.09	488.76	280.47	81.90	201.98	554.38	265.41	441.48
14	701.73	376.50	586.93	254.38	67.96	180.21	651.81	335.76	538.56
15+	725.80	465.41	593.95	282.20	129.48	203.58	689.33	436.92	561.35
Total	626.52	378.81	521.27	207.96	71..77	155.12	543.28	324.90	452.02

Source: Calculations based on PNAD 1996.

Summary on Child Labor, Education and Poverty

40. Child labor does not appear to affect school enrollment, as large numbers of children both work and attend school, particularly in the rural areas. It does, however, appear to be correlated with lags in educational attainment. The most explicit evidence as observed from the data is seen in the relationships between lower average grade attainment and longer working hours of a child and between lower average grade attainment and earlier age of entry into the labor market, though this evidence does not indicate causality.

41. In school, boys also tend to lag behind more than girls, even when controlling for hours worked. This suggests male work activities are less compatible with school than those of girls. Work experience may also be more highly valued for boys whereas observable productivity characteristics such as education may be more highly valued for girls.

42. A child's future earnings decline as age of entry into the labor market decreases, with girls experiencing a more adverse effect than boys. The differential earning between males and females also increases the earlier a child enters the labor market.

43. Girls on average attain a higher level of education than boys yet still earn less than boys for every age of entry into the labor market. Furthermore, if girls begin to work between the ages of 11 and 14, they receive less education than boys who begin working at these ages. Reasons for these differences are not clear. Is the type of work that the girls engage in when they enter the labor market between the ages of 11 and 14 less compatible with schooling than the type of work that they do if they start working at earlier ages? Is the type of work that boys do starting at this age more compatible with school? In addition, girls earn less than boys the younger they enter the labor market. Does the type of work that girls are involved in when they start at earlier ages place them on a path of lower lifetime earnings? Perhaps girls who know that they will have low earnings in the labor market self-select themselves out of school to gain other skills for the "marriage-market". Is discrimination a factor? These questions highlight the need for further investigation.

Risks and Exposures: Impact of Child Labor on Health

44. In addition to the risk of adverse impacts of child labor on education and future earnings, it is evident that some forms of child labor pose immediate and long-term health threats to children. Although few data exist on the impact of child labor on children's health in Brazil, public health researchers have conceptualized some general risks and hazards associated with activities that commonly engage children, such as agriculture, construction, and street work. Hazard is defined as exposure to objects, substances, and/or conditions that have the potential to have adverse effects on humans.

Agriculture

45. In Brazil, the agricultural sector is the main source of labor for both male and female children, particular in the rural areas. It is also consistently ranked as one of the most hazardous industries in terms of morbidity and mortality (Fassa et al., 2000). Hazards include injury from farm machinery, strenuous labor (lifting and carrying heavy loads, working in uncomfortable positions, etc.), chemicals, such as pesticides, and adverse weather (e.g., heat)

46. Injuries caused by long knives and machetes used for cutting, piling, and hauling the crops are common among children working on farms such as on *sisel* (jute) or sugar cane plantations in Brazil (Buckley, 2000). Processing machines and heavy machinery are also frequent sources of occupational injuries. Heavy manual labor from agricultural activities places both physical and emotional strain on workers. Moreover, children working in agriculture face an elevated risk of exposure to chemicals and pollutants. Poor field sanitation and lack of potable water for drinking and washing facilitates the transmission of communicable diseases, and exacerbates the effects of pesticides and heat.

Construction

47. The construction sector in Brazil employs only about 5 percent of working children in urban areas (6 percent among boys, and 1 percent among girls), and less than one percent in the rural areas. It is, however, a harmful occupation for children because of the elevated risk of accidents, as well as exposures to noise, silica, asbestos, dusts, and heavy loads, among others (Fassa et al., 2000).

Domestic Service

48. The ILO characterizes domestic service as harmful under the following conditions: (a) when the child has been sold; (b) when the child is bonded or has to work without pay; (c) when the child works excessive hours, in isolation, or at night; (d) when the child is exposed to safety or health hazards; (e) when the child is subjected to physical or sexual harassment and violence; and (f) when the child is very young. Female domestic workers face additional vulnerabilities, such as sexual coercion and abuse.

49. Whether or not domestic work should be considered a harmful form of child labor in Brazil is disputable. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the private nature of the work locality

causes child domestics to be invisible, isolated and generally unprotected compared to work that is carried out in a more public place. While not all child domestics suffer neglect, abuse or exploitation, nor is the work itself always dangerous or inhumane (Innocenti Digest, 1999, Green, 1998), the invisibility of the work creates the need for attention and scrutiny.

50. Domestic service, which demands servility among its workers, is often associated with an inferior status, stigma and discrimination, which can induce psychological and emotional distress and erode self-esteem, particularly among those who start out at very early ages (UNICEF, 1993, Innocenti Digest, 1999). The extent to which harmful conditions among child domestics exist is not known.

Street Work

51. Children working in the streets, particularly those making a home in the streets, face the most severe working conditions. These children are exposed to drugs and violence (within the home and on the street), as well as traffic accidents, extreme weather, poor sanitation, and psychological distress induced by ostracization and discrimination.

52. A 1996 study of street children in Brazil revealed that more than one half of the boys and one fifth of the girls experienced some form of street violence (violence by the police, other adults , or street children) (Araujo, 1998). In 1997, however, violent encounters among boys decreased, and increased among girls. Also in 1996, 21 percent of the boys, as compared to 12 percent of the girls, reported having used drugs. This pattern was reversed in 1997, when one third of the girls, as compared to 22 percent of the boys experimented with drugs. The dramatic increase in exposure to violence and drugs among girls in 1997, however, could be the result of a sampling error, rather than an actual trend. The profile of the girls in the 1997 sample is reported to be dramatically different from that of 1998.

Prostitution

53. One of the most harmful activities for children on the street is prostitution. Girls are most often the target of recruitment and coercion into the sex industry. The Brazilian Center for Childhood and Adolescence of the Ministry of Social Services estimated that about a half million Brazilian girls are engaged in prostitution in large cities or in migrant settlements in Amazonia

(Dimenstein, 1994). Although fewer in number, boys also are involved in prostitution. The scope of this problem is unknown, however, in large part because of the stigma attached to male prostitution. However, the plight of children involved in prostitution and other street work — vulnerability to violence, substance abuse, and HIV infection – is well documented (Dimenstein, 1994, Green, 1998).

Heightened Vulnerability of Children

54. Although adults face the same exposure to poor working conditions, children are more susceptible to hazards because of their young age, and because they are still undergoing the processes of physical and psychological growth and development (Fassa et al., 2000). Children have high levels of susceptibility in the following areas:

(a) *Work environment*: Children and youth are not developmentally capable of assuming some types of responsibilities and work, for example, because they need more sleep, and often lack physical and emotional maturity.

(b) *Ergonomic factors*: Children experience rapid growth and are, therefore, at greater risk of injuring ligaments and bones.

(c) *Carcinogenic factors*: Children undergo rapid cell growth, which increases their susceptibility to carcinogens.

(d) *Chemical exposures*: Hormonal development of youth can be adversely affected by chemicals, which can also lead to other health problems.

(e) *Latency period*: Among children and youth, the latency period of some diseases is shortened because of rapid cell growth.

(f) *Tools and equipment*: Tools, machinery, and equipment are designed for adults and can cause musculoskeletal disorders among young people, such as back problems and repetitive-motion trauma.

(g) *Permissible exposure limits*: The established limits for chemical and physical exposures are targeted to adults, which can translate into inadequate protection for children.

55. Epidemiological data on the health effects of child labor in Brazil are sorely needed. Although the above concerns are largely theoretical, they provide a guide for further investigation into the impact of child labor on children's health in Brazil. In addition, researchers need should examine gender and sex differentiated impacts, resulting not only from physiological and developmental differences, but also from social differences between girls and boys (i.e., discrimination in the workplace and home, gender stereotypes, and social expectations and norms).

IV. Interventions Addressing the Worst Forms of Child Labor in Brazil

56. This section is divided into two parts: the first focuses on the Brazilian Government's efforts to reduce child labor, and the second discusses the general approaches for targeting children on the street, and examples of each in Brazil. The Brazilian Government has concentrated much of its efforts on providing conditional cash grants with the objective of increasing education and discouraging child labor. As far as children working in the streets, Government programs have focused on urban areas.

The Child Labor Eradication (PETI) Program

57. The Child Labor Eradication (PETI) Program was initiated in 1996 in *rural areas* of Brazil, and by 1999 had managed to reach 166 municipalities in eight states and 131,000 working children. The program aims to increase educational attainment and reduce poverty as well as eradicating the "worst forms" of child labor. It provides stipends of approximately R$25 per month to poor families who have children ages 7-14; resources are given to the mother of the beneficiaries. To be eligible, all school age children in the family must attend school, participate in after-school activities, and agree not to work. After-school activities *(Jornada Ampliada)* are a way of ensuring that children do not mix school and work. The advantage of the PETI program over other types of minimum income guarantee programs is that it is more targeted. This program is also anchored in the school system, and is supported by rural worker unions, which assist in the selection of children and the monitoring of the program.

The Bolsa Escola Programs

58. *Bolsa Escola* was established as a minimum income guarantee program anchored in the school systems of metropolitan areas. As a preventive rather than remedial program, *Bolsa Escola* aims to eliminate poverty in the short-run, reduce long-term poverty through increased educational attainment and reduce child labor. The program provides cash grants to all school-age children in poor families, on the condition that children have 90 percent school attendance. Since 1995, when the first programs were implemented in Campinas and Brasilia, the program has expanded to include around 58 municipalities and four states.

Minimum Income Assurance Program

59. The Mininum Income Assurance Program (*Funda Garantia de Renda Minima* – FGRM) was established by the Ministry of Education to provide financial aid and technical support to municipalities with per capita income and tax revenue less than the state average. Having siince merged with other programs, the FGRM originally offered incentives for children and adolescents to attend school by increasing the income of the poorest families. All beneficiaries were required to demonstrate the school attendance of all their children ages 6-15. The program was financed in part by federal funds and in part by funds collected by the municipalities from their own tax revenues or from partnerships with the state governments, private institutions, and national or international non-governmental entities. The program was developed and implemented by local authorities, depending on the economic and social situations of the local communities. In addition to financial assistance, the federal government was to provide technical assistance so that the municipal programs were followed up with social and educational measures. The Ministry of Education estimates that the FGRM has benefited one million children in more than 500,000 families. The funding for the PGRM was significantly increased to US$850 million for 2001, to reach almost 11 million children. The FGRM was supplemented by the decentralized school lunch program, which benefits 37 million children.

Scaling up the Child Labor Initiatives

60. With the objective of scaling up and integrating separate cash-grant initiatives, in September 2000 initiated a merger of FGRM, the preventative *Bolsa Escola* Program (2 million beneficiaries in

2000) and the remedial PETI program (400,000 beneficiaries in 2000) under the umbrella *Alvorada Program.*

61. Additionally, a new program *Sentinela* was established under *Alvorada* to reduce child prostitution. This program, meant to be both preventive and combative, targets at-risk children aged 7-14 from families with per capital less than half of minimum wage. [14] By providing US$20 to each child and $12 per child per month for the *jornada ampliada,* the Government proposed to reach 8,500 children working in the sex industry. The preventive measures included a national campaign to raise awareness, annual state-level seminars, and workshops for program coordinators regarding the gravity of the problem of prostitution. The combative measures included coordinating plans with councils, facilitating access to social services and guaranteeing interaction between families, schools, and the community. The Government also proposed putting in place an evaluation system to measure the efficiency and effectiveness of the program. In addition, these combative measures proposed to improve the social and cultural environment of the targeted children, to increase education opportunities, and to establish training for the purpose of income generation.

Targeting Street Children

62. From the evidence demonstrated in this report, it is apparent that interventions targeted at street children need separate consideration, given that these children face different conditions, circumstances and constraints. Interventions need to consider the root causes of the problem – which range from personal pathology to structural failings – and according to Lusk (1989), use approaches ranging from social control to social change. Table 12 provides a description of such approaches.

63. Until recently, intervention strategies to tackle the problem of children working in the streets have not considered gender-differentiated needs and circumstances. This is understandable given the overwhelming presence of boys (absolute number) in the street children. However, when it comes to gender, other considerations are important, for example: (a) the type of activities boys and girls are engaged in, which is influenced by gender roles and expectations; (b) the risks and hazards boys and girls face (physical and psychological) either through the activities or working and living

[14] The Federal Constitution, Article 226, paragraph 8 states that, "the state will ... hinder violence within families". Article 227, paragraph 4 punishes abuse and violence and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents.

conditions (e.g. sexual abuse, violence prostitution); and (c) the reasons girls and boys work in the street, which also may be influenced by the different ways boys and girls are socialized and the expectations placed on them (e.g. boys are expected to earn income whereas girls are expected to nurture and care for others). Lastly, little or no information exists on how various intervention strategies differentially affect boys and girls, for example:

(a) Underlying the correctional approach is the perception of street children as delinquents. Expressions of delinquency and its consequences are often gender defined, however, the gender differentiated effects of juvenile justice and youth corrections systems is not known.

(b) The rehabilitation approach focuses on providing skills to children so that they can be reintegrated into "mainstream" society, but often the skills provided are based on gender stereotypes.

(c) The outreach approach, which focuses on the empowerment of individuals through learning, needs to recognize that girls and boys face different types of discrimination, barriers and opportunities.

Table 12: Types of Interventions Directed at Street Children

Approach		Characteristics
Correctional Approach	Social control ↓	• Perceives children as delinquents • Problems can be resolved through juvenile justice and youth corrections • Based on assumptions that the root cause of problem is personal pathology, and therefore, intervention strategy is clinical at its best and punitive at its worst
Rehabilitative Approach		• Views children as victims of child abuse and neglect, extreme poverty, and unstable home life • Focus on transforming street children into skilled, pro-social school graduates through work and values education
Outreach Approach		• Perceives children as agents of change (influenced by Freire's philosophy that individuals change the world while learning about it) • Focus on structural problems and individual empowerment (use of street educators who provide educational, counseling, and advocacy services to children)
Preventive Approach	↓ Social Change	• Perceives the problem of street children as a symptom of structural problems, such as migration to urban areas, inability of cities to provide adequate services (housing, employment, etc), breakdown of family structures • Interventions focus on community-based programs, environmental/structural changes, such as providing day-time activities, schooling, community kitchens, artisan cooperatives, etc.

Source: Lusk, 1989

V. CONCLUSIONS

64. The evidence presented in this paper reveals that a larger number of boys than girls work in Brazil especially in rural areas where boys are concentrated in the agricultural sector. Many of these children are both working and attending school. Girls demonstrate higher levels of educational attainment than boys on average, presumably because they are working less. However, even when considering the number of hours that children work, girls still demonstrate higher educational attainment. The exception is the 11-14 age category where girls demonstrate lower levels of educational attainment than boys.

65. The data presented here also demonstrate that the earnings of an individual are correlated with the age of entry into the labor market. The earlier a child begins to work, the lower his or her earnings.[15] And girls are more adversely affected than boys who enter the labor market early. In addition, the differential between male and female earnings increases the earlier a child begins to work. What are the reasons for these differences? Do girls self-select themselves out of the formal labor market? And how can child labor programs best serve the different needs of boys and girls? These questions can only be answered through a thorough econometric analysis that examines the causes and consequences of child labor and measures the gender effects.

66. The paper also points to the need for analysis of the impact of child labor on health (physical as well as psychological well-being). And beyond general risks and hazards associated with activities that commonly engage children, such as agriculture, construction, and street work, interventions for prevention and mitigation of adverse health consequences need to be identified. In addition, these interventions might consider gender and sex-differentiated impacts, resulting not only from physiological and developmental differences, but also from social differences between girls and boys (i.e., discrimination in the workplace and home, gender stereotypes, and social expectations and norms).

67. An examination of the determinants of child labor and street children offers some insight into the types of interventions that are necessary to address this problem. Poverty, social norms, distribution of labor in the household, lack of schools, and poor quality of

education are among the determinants of child labor. Little is known, however, about whether and how these factors differentially impact boys and girls. Given that evidence on both schooling and future earnings indicates that boys demonstrate higher returns to schooling than girls, improving school quality may have more of an effect on boys than on girls.

68. Taking poverty as the primary contributor to child labor, programs such as PETI , *Bolsa Escola* and FGRM are well designed in that they compensate families for a child's foregone earnings and mitigate the family characteristics that lead to poverty. The design and targeting mechanisms as well as monitoring and evaluation of these programs, however, could be improved by explicitly considering the gender dimensions of child labor, that is, the incidence, number of hours worked, and the types of activities in which boys and girls are involved.

69. An examination of the sectors and activities in which girls and boys work suggests the need for further research on domestic service, a sector in which girls are over-represented. Besides the incompatible nature of domestic service with schooling, the private nature of this type of work means that girls are more likely to be subjected to both physical and mental abuse. Moreover, the number of girls working in domestic service is increasing, even while child labor is decreasing overall in Brazil.

70. Lastly, the paper suggests the need to address gender in intervention strategies for street children. While most programs justifiably focus on boys due to their overrepresentation of the working population, the plight of girls should not be neglected. In addition to the number of street children, programs need to consider: (a) the type of activities in which boys and girls are engaged; (b) the risks and hazards boys and girls face (physical and psychological), either through the activities or working and living conditions; and (c) the different reasons that boys and girls work in the street. The *Sentinela* Program, for example, which targets children at-risk of working in the sex industry, is a good example of an initiative that addresses the gender-differentiated reasons that girls and boys work. Supporting such efforts as well as increasing research on how interventions for working and

[15] Ilahi and Sedlacek (2000).

street children affects boys and girls differently, will continue to demonstrate Brazil's innovative efforts at addressing this important issue.

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